857 From this time on, the life of the Nambikwara infant goes on as we have described, and without there being much differentiation according to sex. These differences begin to appear only at the ap-
881 proach of puberty. At this time, the girls adopt a completely new behavior. They allow themselves great liberties, speaking brutally to their entourage and [109] amusing themselves with obscene acts. The fact is that the ceremony of puberty, which coincides with mar-
[553] riage, marks a decided change in her life and it is also upon that occasion that she receives her name. The Nambikwara women marry
582 very soon after their first menstruation. The polygamy of the chiefs
[595] creates a permanent deficit of women, and the newly available wife is impatiently awaited. According to our informants, it is the young
584 girl who indicates to her parents which of her potential husbands she wishes to marry. She says that she "wishes to marry quickly" (ikĩndurige, b1); the term of dialect a1 for "to marry" being oyensaikititu, literally: "to make a husband," it seems that, as has been affirmed, the initiative belongs to the girl:

48. inka (ni) duredniẽn durẽnie (b1)
"I wish to marry quickly" [says the girl]. "Marry," says the mother] (?)

Actually, it seems that the marriage is decided from infancy by an agreement between the parents. Farseeing parents must prepare far in advance the marriage of their son, for otherwise the latter risks not finding an available woman. Brothers-in-law have often indicated to us that their children were promised to one another.

881 At the time of puberty, the young girl is completely isolated for a period of from two to four months. She lives in a specially constructed shelter some distance from the village, and lives there alone, observing a series of alimentary and social taboos. During this period, her mother feeds her and takes care of her. The period of segration ended, songs and dances take place. Her shelter is torn down and "the mother takes back her child." Then the ceremony proper of marriage takes place. It is prepared by hunting and fishing expeditions and is carried out amidst chants and dances:

49. ũrige ãĩũngnerage denano inĩra ãĩkira ãĩknira tããta halonoo tatlĩkta ãĩndage hntimbãta ũrrige imãgãra imãgãra (b1)
Go get fish, the women arrive, arrive, to broil [the fish] in the square go out, sing, whistle, play the flute, play the flute.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 314] Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Wakítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitânrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. The young man, who 584 is to become the husband of a girl just out of 585 seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a [587] married couple. When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[P. 104 (A)]